/878 cont./

437 Although by and large every adult is able to make for himself the articles necessary for his way of life, nevertheless he obtains all kinds of things through barter. We mean by this the arrangement whereby, upon mutual agreement, one object is put up for another and the owners make an exchange. Our Indians lack 434 real media of exchange, such as money, shells, and the like, but they put a lower or higher value on each object, to which they decisively refer during the exchange. The value of a thing increases if it is naturally beautiful, for example, in the case of an otter skin, or if it is carefully made and reliable in use, for instance, a long harpoon point, and finally in relation to the difficulty with which it was obtained, as in the case of soft pieces of guanaco leather. If a person wants an object, the owner evaluates it and compares it with the merit of the thing the other person offers in exchange. They try to make up for the lack of merit of one object as against another by increasing the quantity. The Indians are unfamiliar with weights as measures. If both parties have agreed on the equivalence of the objects to be bartered, they make the exchange.

There are several expressions in the Yamana language from 437 which we may clearly recognize the customs involved in barter as 437 described above. For example, BD:307 gives matĕxgămatapai, "to make mutually an exchange with each other" /cited in English/; likewise, matăxgămata, "a thing (things) given in exchange" /cited in English/. Earlier observers were convinced that there was lively barter among our Yamana (390). Darwin (d):261 wrote:

> 388. Cooper:179 is correct in his summary: "Barter between the Fuegians and the whites, between the three Fuegian tribes, and between members of the same tribe is a common feature of Fuegian life" /cited in English/.

"Several of the Fuegians definitely proved that they had a good idea of barter. I gave a man a large nail, without making any kind of sign that I expected a return gift. He immediately picked out two fish and handed them to me on the tip of his spear. Whenever there was a gift meant for a canoe and it was dropped

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86 Without noticeable coercion, the young people improve themselves, one more than another, according to their natural
153 gifts and personal diligence. Someone who is particularly alert and mentally active makes more rapid progress; the adults are more willing to take trouble with him and they teach him many things earlier than they do his contemporaries. The fact that among the Yamana, also, some persons have a good deal more knowledge than the average can be traced back to inclination, industry, and a desire to learn. Some are extraordinarily limited and know only what is most necessary. A person who commands
[555] superior knowledge attracts those around him, influences them, and is highly regarded far and wide. The superior position of most yĕkamuĭ rests on the fact that they surpass their countrymen in their possession of things of the mind.

86 If one should gather together all the knowledge gained by experience and the numerous individual facts that every Yamana possesses, he would build up an astonishing fund of information. Borrowing from this source, every generation enriches itself anew and finds it adequate to meet the demands of existence, to satisfy the needs of the mind, to attain the economic goals, and to lead an ordered, harmonious tribal life beneficial to each individual. Relying on his knowledge and his powers, the Fuegian, as master of the animal kingdom and the strong forces of nature in his unfriendly country, strives toward his goals and is confident of victory.

/1446/ 1. Measuring and Counting

•435 The Yamana lack a universal standard of value, such as money or the various kinds of measures. They must resort to estimating actual value in one way or another. This is done according to certain considerations, not the least of which, and often decisive, are the beauty and perfection of the object. The scarcer a thing is, the higher its value. These and other considerations are naturally decisive in barter. They also determine whether the recipient of a gift rates it higher or lower. On page 175 there are examples showing a kind of scale of value. It is obvious that our Yamana are unable to evaluate the things given to them by

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435 Europeans, and therefore no one should find it strange that the Indians neither protect nor take good care of costly or rare objects. It is quite generally true that they do not handle their tools carefully or protect them; they carelessly trust their own ability and manufacture what they need without much trouble. Any kind of wealth and an accumulation of objects would be nothing more than a burden to them.

802 Their material possessions are amazingly meager. Hence they can do without numbers even more easily than without a complicated scale of value. There are definite designations: one = yékčli; two = kompéjne; and three = máten. In general the Yamana do not count beyond that. They designate anything beyond three as wíwu = much. "Very much" is designated either as wíwu wíwu or čílla wíwu. For an extraordinary amount the expression manéna wíwu is used. A few compounds are also used to express numbers above three. They say yékčli yéf, "one hand," and kompéi yéf "two hands," which mean "five" and "ten," respectively. SD:225 gives doučí, "a few as from five to twenty" /cited in English/. A few other forms are also given in SD. Constructions such as máten čílla máten probably first arose under the influence of Europeans. Compare Hyades (Q):217. If the Yamana wish to express a figure beyond three, they prefer to use their fingers, and they indicate the number by shaking the specific finger, without forming or expressing a special word for the number. Our Fuegians are unacquainted with measures of length and height. To indicate an insignificant length they make a fist with both hands and, by holding them apart, show the specified length. At the same time they say kętémuka, from kętém = like this here, múka = long. The Yamana do not strive for any particular accuracy either in counting or measuring.

192 281 A few words that our Indians use as exclamations should be mentioned briefly. If they agree with a word or a request, they utter a faint ŋ, without opening the mouth; sometimes they also bow the head slightly. If they are very much interested, they utter a loud šíi = good, right, very well; or an excited tas = yes, yes; finally, /1447/ wíf = splendid, excellent. They lack what we imply with "no." If a person does not agree with the words of